

POETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
ESSAY
ON THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

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POETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
ESSAY
ON THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ADDRESSED TO

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

*Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpuræ metuunt tyranni.*

HOR. ODE 25. LIB. I.

Superior virtue, wisdom, might,
Create, and mark the Ruler's right,
So reason must conclude:
Then thine it is, to whom belong
The wise, the virtuous, and the strong,
Thrice sacred multitude.

ODE TO MANKIND.

SECOND EDITION.

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1793.

POETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL

ESSAY

ON THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

ADDRESSED TO

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

It must have been a
liberal, humane, and
moderate, and not
a violent, and not

an unprincipled

man, who would
have been able to
see the truth in
the French Revolution.

There is a man, to whom
this man, the Frenchman,
has been compared.

ONE TO MANY.

SECOND EDITION



PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.

2

PREFACE.

THE spirit of Liberty has lately produced a glorious Revolution in a neighbouring country. The Author of the following Poem has always been an ardent admirer of the principle by which it was originally effected. He rejoices at the victories of France, because she fought against despotism; and because he is convinced that not only the freedom of France, but the freedom of mankind depended on the success of her arms.

On the 9th of Feb. 1790, Mr. Burke exultingly exclaimed in the House of Commons, "In a political
A view,

view, France was low indeed. She had lost every thing, even to her name.

“ — Jacet ingens littore truncus

“ Avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.”

“ They had done their business for us, in a way in which twenty Ramillies or Blenheims could never have done it.”

“ Gallos *olim* bello floruisse,” &c. &c.

He has, however, condescended to change his opinion on the failure of his first prediction, though it has not induced him to doubt the final accomplishment of his second; as he *now* foretells, with enthusiastic heat, that a general crusade of Christian Kings and Potentates can alone preserve this Country, and the rest of Europe, from dwindling into insignificant States, and being triumphantly annexed to that formidable Republic. He therefore exerts great zeal and logic to
prove,

prove, that we are authorised by all laws, human and divine, to cut off the people of France, root and branch, (even to the third and fourth generation) from the face of the earth, as a proscribed race of Philosophers, Metaphysicians, and Mahometans.

The Author, in delivering his sentiments on Mr. Burke's moral and political speculations, has not followed that Gentleman's example; if his strictures are free, he trusts they are not illiberal.

If he should be invidiously censured for glancing at certain defects in the British Constitution; if he should be called on to express his attachment to the civil and religious establishment of his country; his defence and test of loyalty shall be in the words of the philosophical Bishop of Landaff. "Professions of attachment to our Constitution in Church and State, have been made by me on so many occasions, that I think
it

it needless to repeat them on this. If any one, from the freedom with which I have been accustomed to speak of both, should be disposed to question the sincerity of these professions, nothing that I could say would remove his prejudice; I leave it, however, to impartial men to decide, whose attachment to the Constitution is the greatest—that of him, who labours to remove such *rotten* parts of the glorious fabric of civil and religious freedom, as daily invite the attack of its enemies—or that of him, who, not unconscious of the danger, contents himself with thinking that it will not fall in his time.”

Bishop of Landaff's Charge to his Clergy.

POETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL

ESSAY, &c.

YE Nuns and Capuchins, begin the song,
In EDMUND's praise, your sweetest notes prolong ;
EDMUND, whom whiggish strains delight no more,
Your ravish'd joys now labours to restore :
Mitres and thrones again with lustre shine,
And George and Louis rule by right divine.
No more in tropes sublime with patriot spleen,
He *burls* a Monarch, shoves aside a Queen :
When *phantom-struck*, he view'd with frantic air,
A Lawyer's seal usurp the regal Chair.

10

Exulting

Ye Tories, hear your new Sacheverel preach,
 And a whole People for their crimes impeach;
 Exulting read what the old Whig indites;
 "In arms we're ready to abjure our rights;*
 Sceptres from royal hands, no more we'll sever, 15
 But kneel and cry---tho' tyrants, reign for ever!"
 Cashiering Kings is treason by *that* law,
 Which gave the Crown to Brunswick and Nassau:
 And lest posterity assert their claim,
 We boldly here renounce it in their name. † 20

To Nobles, Priests, ye People bow the head,
 Tho' spurn'd by those, who by your toils are fed:
 Ye rich and great, who weep your fancy'd woes,
 Look up to Heav'n, and give your souls repose.
 Releas'd from sin, you'll reach your kindred skies, 25
 As sea-born vapours drop their salts and rise.
 Worn down by pleasure, impotent with pain,
 Spurn the frail flesh, and Paradise regain.

10

Sudden

* Line 14, Note 1. Appendix.

† Line 20, Note 2.

Sudden as Quixote's balsam, mystic grace,
 Will terrors, whims, and mental pangs efface; 30
 Since earthly joys you're doom'd to taste no more,
 In faith's balloon to brighter regions soar;
 To sated appetite an edge supply,
 And beg celestial manna, from *on high*.
 To sooth vain sorrows, your Knight-Errant flies, 35
 With real grief he scorns to sympathise;
 Dramatic woe in splendid fiction's dress,
 He bodies forth---to weep at the distress!
 Of pomps and vanities bewails the loss,
 Cries o'er the Ribband, and adores the Cross. 40
 Ye poor and wretched, suffer and be dumb,
 And wait for happiness in worlds to come;
 With meekness, patience, your sad duties fill,
 What's cold and hunger to ideal ill?

When vice is gross, he owns 'tis mean and base,* 45
 But polish'd vice assumes bright Virtue's grace;

By

* Line 45, Note 3.

By Dovey's art, as spurious diamonds shine,
 And boast the splendour of Golconda's mine.
 Vice decks a Lord, but ill becomes a Swain;
 Charming at Court, but odious on the Plain: 50
 As poisons scented with nice chymic skill,
 Delight the sense, and lose their pow'r to kill:
 Such EDMUND's logic, such his moral page!
 Fit for the bar, the pulpit, and the stage.

But lo! he burns with more than priestly zeal, 55
 To prove the Church preserves the Commonweal;
 Search the historic page---the Church, we find,
 "The first, the last, the midst in every mind."*
 By blood, by crimes, and theologic hate,
 She proudly rose, the MoLoc of the State. 60
 By Superstition's aid pursu'd her plan,
 The bane of reason, and the foe of man.
 Above the clouds, she rests her starry throne,
 Yet humbly makes this vale of tears her own.

Around

* Line 58, Note 4.

Around the State her harlot arms she flings,
 Exhausts its strength, relaxes all its springs:
 The palm's rich juice, thus savage Indians drain,
 And leave it withering on the desert plain.
 She wafts contagion by her venom'd breath,
 And widely spreads the principle of death. 70
 The poison'd vest o'er all mankind she throws,
 A fatal gift pregnant with human woes.
 ---But *here*, she rears her mitr'd* front with grace,
 While Court and Parliament admire her face.
 Exacts her tythes, her right divine of spoil, 75
 To tax hard industry, and check the soil:
 And waits till vain philosophy expires,
 With the law's torch to light up Smithfield's fires. †

With due encomium, saintly EDMUND tells,
 How cloyster'd sages dignify their cells; 80
 Quibble on oaths, prevaricate by rule, ‡
 To guard the system of their gothic school;

c

Lest

* Line 73, No. 5.

† Line 78, No. 6.

‡ Line 81, No. 7.

Lest innovation shed a baneful light,
And spoil the darkness of their monkish night.

Behold *his* puff'd Divine with pompous air, 85
Drives the pert youngster, round the world to stare*
At pictures, ladies, statues, saints and kings,
And form his morals by such charming things.
At length the pilgrim hears his pupil call,
Thou faithful servant—lo, a Bishop's stall! 90
A solemn Swiss round whom the rabble gape,
Thus leads about a brisk fantastic ape,
With phyz demure, contrasts his comrade's play,
Till countless pence his social toils repay.

His clinquant trade the dazzling Sophist plys, 95
And bids exploded themes with lustre rise.

O'er FILMER's dirt a brilliant hue he flings,†
The meteor gilds the bog from whence it springs:
With specious art refines his spurious ore,
And gives it colour, but he gives no more. 100

Splendid

* Line 86, Note 8.

† Line 97, Note 9.

Splendid perversions fancy's rays supply,
As light refracted paints a wat'ry sky.
Soaring in mystic prose, 'bove flights in rhyme,
Th' obscure he proves one source of the sublime. *
Imagination's dupe from earliest youth, 105
His glittering page was never dull'd by truth.
Himself a host;—now from his party fled,
Mambrino's helmet blazing on his head;
He views thro' chivalry's prophetic eye,
Ten thousand swords by vital instinct fly,† 110
To guard his Saint; for love's chaste star had shed
A holy radiance round her royal head.
In these degenerate days, how vain his hope,
Can he revive Don Quixote and the Pope?
Yet in his ear fame's trumpet seems to sound, 115
And still with LAUD, he treads on holy ground;‡
O'er thrones polluted flings a beam of glory,
In faith a Zealot, and in Creed a Tory.

Hail

* Line 104, Note 10.

† Line 110, Note 11.

‡ Line 116, Note 12.

Hail sacred prejudice, celestial ray!

When reason's meteor leads our steps astray; 120

You guide us by a pure unerring light,

To nature's path, with heavenly radiance bright.

Hence B—— believes, retains the infant thought,

“Of all the priest, and all the nurse have taught.”

Tells how great Frederic plan'd a dire crusade, * 125

And pledg'd his crown to yield vile Atheists aid;

By sword, by pen, by logic, true or odd,

To force all Europe to deny a God!

From such a theme, the muse indignant flies,

And sees majestic scenes in France arise, 130

Sees liberty in splendid triumph shine,

And Gallia's sons kneel at her sacred shrine,

Where the Bastile once spread its dreary gloom,

And daring spirits found a living tomb.

No slaves in arms now shield a despot's throne, 135

Man's sacred claims her generous soldiers own.

No

* Line 125, Note 13.

No charter'd grants the venturous prow restrain, *
 Nor on the artist cast a galling chain.
 No Parish bounds confine him to a spot,
 To starve by law, unpitied and forgot. 140
 No Statesman, there a venal suffrage buys,
 And shackles freedom by a vile excise.
 No inquisition, marriage rites profanes, †
 No *Test Act*, there with pious rancour reigns.
 No bloated Priests count godliness by gain, 145
 While starving Curates supplicate in vain. ‡
 As all Religions with one voice agree
 To preach good morals, every Sect is free.
 No subtle Judges law's strong bulwark mine,
 And doom a prison, by the Insolvent's fine. 150
 There, mild philosophy bids contest cease,
 And vile Attornies curse the word of peace. §
 No nuptial bonds bid nuptial Bastiles rise, ¶
 Love hovers round, releas'd from galling ties.

D

Oppression's

* Line 137, Note 14.

† Line 143, Note 15.

‡ Line 146, Note 16.

|| Line 150, Note 17.

§ Line 152, Note 18.

¶ Line 153, Note 19.

Oppression's grasp the peasant feels no more, 155
 No longer doom'd to drag the slavish oar;
 A wretched exile from his natal place;
 Torn from his wife, his children's fond embrace,
 To mourn one fatal crime—a partridge slain,*
 While night by night, he watch'd his scanty grain: 160
 His scanty grain no more the Levite's spoil,
 The tythe-sheaf now rewards his honest toil.
 No mean exemption cringing Nobles find, †
 No partial taxes press the labouring hind.
 No courtier's pension robs his humble shed, 165
 And cheats a village of their hard earn'd bread. ‡
 No more he dreads the *Corvées*' servile day,
 Nor starves and sweats to form the royal Way.
 The feudal Common blooms beneath his hand,
 And Yeomen rise the wonder of the land. 170
 With conscious pride he tends his fertile fields,
 And tastes the gifts that bounteous nature yields.
 O'er

* Line 159, Note 20.

† Line 163, Note 21.

‡ Line 166, Note 22.

O'er the press'd grape with joyous visage sings,
And crowns a wish breath'd by the best of Kings.*

No regal grants *there*, mark despotic will, 175
And make a physical by moral ill;
Edge keen distress, and plant invidious strife,
Between the luxuries, and wants of life.
From Winter's chill, the poor with joy retire,
Earth yields her fuel, lights the cottage fire; † 180
Rural content, her chearful front displays,
And smiling infants play around the blaze.

But lo! Imperial Chiefs with vengeful ire,
Against a People's peace, and rights conspire;
War is their royal game, a realm the prize, † 185
Men are but *Counters*, in the tyrants eyes.

—Lash'd

J'espere de voir le tems ou tous le paysans de mon royaume, mangera tous les
jours de la viande, et pourra tous les dimanches mettre une poule dans son pot.

Esprit d'Henr. IV.

† Line 180, Note 23.

‡ Les Souverains jouent les provinces, et les hommes sont les jetons qui payent.
D'œuvres Posthumes de Fred. II. Roi de Prusse. T. 2, p. 214.

—Lash'd to manœuvre with habitual skill,*
Fight without cause, and without passion kill.
Drill'd to machines, their servile bands advance,
With fire and sword to tame disloyal France. 190
To stamp the wrath of kings to after-times,
And waste the beauty of her genial climes.
There, golden fruit to sweet luxuriance grows,
The various vine in vivid clusters glows.
There, bounteous crops enrich the happy Swain, 195
And tell th' incipient bliss of Freedom's reign.

—Can servile bands Republicans control,
And quell their new born energy of soul ?
In vain, proud Austria her whole force combines,
Her trench they storm, and force her boasted lines. 200
She yields, she flies, despair and shame her guide,
Shorn of her beams, and fall'n her crested pride.
The gothic tower, thus rear'd in ages past,
One moment sinks, beneath the lightning's blast.

Thro'

* Line 187, No. 24.

Thro' every breast heroic ardour runs, 205
 All feel alike, when nature ranks her sons;
 The patriot soldier pants for public praise,
 And France revives the fame of ancient days.
 Man, equal man, no vain distinction knows,
 With pride he thinks, with energy he glows. 210
 Republic valour every bosom fires,
 Republic virtue every soul inspires:
 Thus Greece renown'd, repell'd the barbarous hosts,
 That Persia pour'd in torrents on her coasts.

Fall'n is base Austria's pride, and Prussia's sway, 215
 And ghostly tyrants sneak with shame away;
 Back to their dens, the savage Russians roll,
 And hope's bright ray cheers the deserted POLE.
 The peasant's breast exulting triumph fills,
 And the *War Song** resounds from Savoy's hills. 220
 Congenial States beyond the Atlantic main,
 Hail the bold notes, and catch the martial strain.

E

Again

* Marche des Marseillois---aux armes citoyens, &c.

Again, array'd the Belgic legions shine,
And Freedom's banner waves along the Rhine.
Despots in vain her generous armies brave, 225
Who conquests scorn, and triumph but to save;
From Belgia's eye she wipes the tear of woe,
And Scheld's rich tides in wonted grandeur flow.
Enlighten'd Spain her genial influence owns,
And Tyrants tremble on their tottering thrones. 230
O'er Alpine mounds she'll stretch her blissful reign,
And Rome's fam'd spoils enrich her glorious fane.
To the proud dome heroic Brutus bear,
The patriot Chief will breathe a native air.
Your Franklin join, eternalize his name, 235
Who freed a world, and tam'd the lightning's flame.*
With civic crowns Dumourier, Custine grace,
Their laurel'd busts will consecrate the place.
In arts and arms by liberty refin'd,
A second ATHENS springs, to free mankind. 240

* Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.

The Tree of Liberty will nobly shoot,
As she transplants the democratic root,
Wide o'er the earth, its sheltering branches spread,
Grateful to heaven, uprear its towering head;
Beneath its shade exulting nations sing, 245
And a whole people be the people's King.

O Liberty! expand thy vital ray,
O'er the dark globe, diffuse celestial day;
Glad distant regions by thy blissful voice,
Till India's wilds, and Afric's sands rejoice. 250
Thy spirit breathe, wide as Creation's space,
Exalt, illumine, inspire the human race;
As Heaven's own æther thro' expansion hurl'd,
Attracts, sublimates, and animates the world.

And are there Whigs, who truth's bold doctrines strain,
Of timid heart, or visionary brain? 256

Who

Who talk of Freedom as a royal boon, *
 And in their zeal would prosecute a tune.
 See Britain's fabric shook by every scrawl,
 And read BELSHAZZAR's † fate on every wall. 260
 Who scar'd by false alarms, and EDMUND's note,
 Denounce Paine's whims, and spread them by their vote!
 Their fears, with scorn will manly Fox deride,
 His Country's Genius, Guardian, and her pride.
 —They cry,---from Gallia's shore *rebellion* springs, 265
 And then devote her to the sword of Kings;
 With grim delight call Brunswic's ravenous band,
 (His dogs of war) to desolate the land.
 Their deeds, with joy the LORD'S ANOINTED views,
 And pleads the right—that Bryant gives the Jews. ‡ 270

Peace to all such, but hark---fame's rapid voice!
 ---Let Gallia's shore and Albion's cliffs rejoice;
 And hail the news---for lo the tyrants fly,
 Fear in each heart, distraction in each eye,

Speed

* Line 257, Note 24. † Daniel, chap. 5. ‡ Line 270, Note 25.

Speed the glad tidings to Hibernia's shore, 275
That Gallia triumphs---tyranny's no more.
Now beams from every mansion freedom's light,
While shouts of joy proclaim the People's right.
From Scotia's realm bursts the victorious blaze,
And the bold spirit of her sons displays. 280

This *Sceptred Isle* her rank may still regain,
And rule triumphant o'er the boundless main;
If with an equal hand she pour to all,
Those sacred rights for which the people call:
Freedom by vital change her course pursues, 285
Throws off the slough, her glorious youth renews;
Dear are our rights, and dear are freedom's charms,
Inspir'd by her, we'll brave the world to arms;
By millions storm'd, our innate powers combine,
As air compress'd, expands its force divine. 290

Hail sacred Genius! o'er yon smiling plains,
Call'd by thy voice, triumphant freedom reigns:

There, brilliant Montesquieu, tho' deep, refin'd,
By reason's ray illumines all mankind;
From Earth's wide range, impressive wisdom draws, 295
Then gives the immortal spirit of the Laws.

When o'er the land, sad superstition threw
Her gloom, and ting'd Religion with her hue,
Voltaire arose;---wit's polish'd shafts he sped,
The loves and graces hover'd o'er his head; 300
The tender muses every verse inspire,
To themes sublime attun'd his lofty lyre;
Virtue and Brutus trod the wondering stage,
And Rome's free spirit fir'd a servile age.
Sportive, yet keen, his laughing satire flows, 305
His scornful ridicule sham'd reason's foes;
Till indignation fir'd each generous breast,
And mitres, cowls and priests became a jest;
Ev'n vengeful bigotry was taught to feel,
"And persecution mourn'd her broken wheel." 310

With

With endless fame, his glorious toils are paid,
And grateful honours glad th' illustrious shade.

• Here, hapless Rousseau, with unrivall'd art,
Pour'd his impassion'd strain, and won the heart ;
Bid nature's hand his own Emilius grace, 315
And love's pure blush paint Eloisa's face.
Gave reason energy, bid fancy shine,
And freedom touch us by a charm divine ;
Exulting Genius lives along his page,
And virtue crowns the Patriot and the Sage. 320

See Condillac,* with nice precision scan
The bounds of reason, and the mind of man ;
And piercing Boulanger † with ken profound,
Drag superstition from her antient ground.
Buffon converges reason's scatter'd rays, 325
And o'er his country sheds th' effulgent blaze.

With

* Essai sur l'Origine des Connoissances Humaines.

† L'Antiquite devoilee.

With talents wild, eccentric, yet refin'd,
 Raynal * still charms, the friend of human kind.
 Prophetic Freret's † philosophic page,
 Foretells the wisdom of the present age. 330
 T' enlighten man, here fam'd Helvetius writ, ‡
 And deck'd his system with exuberant wit!
 While D'Alembert with every sage combin'd,
 Pours the full tide of science on mankind.
 Here Bailly || read with keen discerning eye, 335
 The sacred volume of th' expanded sky,
 Call'd down the stars to vindicate old time,
 And 'stead of fables gave us truths sublime.

Hail shades rever'd ! in wisdom's paths you trod,
 " And look'd thro' nature up to nature's God." 340

Hail

* Histoire Philosophique des Indes.

† This celebrated Author, in one of his Philosophic Dissertations, written above fifty years ago, expressly says, that before the end of the present century, part of the enormous wealth of the Clergy would be applied to the exigencies of the State.

‡ Esprit. L'Astronomie Indienne, which carries us back to a very remote period, 3,200 years before the commencement of the present æra.

|| Encyclopedie.

Hail Gallia's pride! my muse in ardent lays,
 Fir'd by the theme, attempts to sing your praise;
 While Liberty records each sacred name,
 Your grateful Country gives you deathless fame.

Yet shall the Muse her flowing strain prolong, 345
 (May Gallia's sons applaud the plaintive song)
 In noble minds the love of mercy reigns,
 But dire revenge a Nation's glory stains.
 Indignant Britain, hears a Monarch's groan,
 Worn down by grief;---hurl'd from a splendid throne. 350
 O save a captive Prince, depress'd by woe!
 Preserve meek Bourbon from the menac'd blow!
 Restore an infant to his fond embrace!
 And glad with smiles of joy a father's face:
 Let him behold, to sooth and sweeten ~~life~~, 355
 The tender sister, and heroic wife.
 In calm retirement, *let* him safely share,
 Soft social bliss devoid of scepter'd care:
 This generous deed will make the world rejoice,
 Call'd for, by Britain, and by Freedom's voice. 360

Hail Gallia's birth! thy name in ancient days
 First by the Romans, and by the Gauls was
 Whence the name of Gaul, and of the Gauls
 Your glorious Country gives you dearest name
 Yet shall the Muse her flowing strains prolong
 (May Gallia's sons applaud the plaintive song)
 In noble strains the love of mercy sing,
 But ere we reach a Nation's glory strain
 Indignant Britain, hear a Nation's strain
 Worth down to earth, — but from a splendid strain
 O save a captive Prince, deliver'd by woe!
 Passive weak position from the tyrant's blow
 Hence an infant in his fond embrace!
 And glad with arms of joy a father's face
 Let him behold, in youth and sweeten life,
 The tender sister, and heroic wife.
 In calm retirement, by him safely shrouded
 Soft aerial bliss devoid of secular care:
 This generous deed will make the world rejoice
 Call for the British, and for Freedom's voice.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I, LINE 14.

“SO far is it from being true, that we acquired a Right by the Revolution to elect our Kings, that if we had possessed it before, the English Nation did at that time most solemnly renounce, and abjure it for themselves, and for their posterity for ever.” He should have added—They lost the Right, by presuming to exercise it.

In Page 40, He expressly asserts, that *till* the Revolution, the People of England possessed that Right; “because the *constant inspection* of Parliament, the practical claim of Impeachment, was thought infinitely a better security not only for Constitutional Liberty, but against the vices of Administration, than the RESERVATION of this Right.” This seems to be Mr. Burke’s *opinion* at present; yet some years ago, he entertained a very different *opinion*, if we may judge from his own words—“The control of Parliament upon the Executive Power has been long already actually lost, because Parliament is made to partake in every considerable act of government.” *Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents*, p. 70.

NOTE

NOTE 2, LINE 24.

"The English people are satisfied, that to the great, the *consolations* of religion are as necessary as its instructions. They too are among the unhappy. In these they have no privilege. They want this sovereign balm under their gnawing cares and anxieties, which being less conversant about the limited wants of animal life, range without limit, and are diversified by infinite combinations in the wild and unbounded regions of imagination. Some charitable dole is wanting to these, our often very unhappy brethren, to fill the gloomy void that reigns in minds which have nothing on earth to hope or fear; something to relieve in the killing languor and over-laboured lassitude of those who have nothing to do; something to excite an appetite to existence in the palled satiety which attends on all pleasures which may be bought, where nature is not left to her own process, where even desire is anticipated, and therefore fruition defeated by meditated schemes and contrivances of delight; and no interval, no obstacle, is interposed between the wish and the accomplishment." The late Dr. Johnson's moral sentiments seem to have been of a different cast. "The sight of people who want food and raiment," says he, "is so common, that a surly fellow like me has no compassion to spare for wounds given only to vanity or softness. I cannot sympathize with the sorrows of vanity." *Piozzi's Anecdotes.*

NOTE 3, LINE 45.

"It is gone, (viz. chivalry) which enobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness." P. 113.

NOTE 4, LINE 58.

"I beg leave to speak of our Church Establishment, which is the first of our *prejudices*, not a prejudice destitute of reason, but involving in it profound, and extensive wisdom : I speak of it first, it is first, and last, and midst in our minds."

NOTE 5, LINE 73.

"We will have her to exalt her mitred front in Courts and Parliament."

Refl. p. 153.

NOTE 6, LINE 78.

"Though the writ *de comburendo heretico* is repealed ; yet it is not clear that ecclesiastical judges may not even now doom heretics to the flames, though the civil power cannot execute the sentence." However, the mob at Birmingham, whose cry still continues to be Church and King, seem very willing to supply this deficiency of law, by exercising a summary jurisdiction ; and I should not be surprised if those religious loyalists petitioned to have *that* statute re-enacted, especially as the virtuous motives on which it was repealed no longer exist. They are given in Kennet's Life of Chas. II. p. 361 ; and however questionable this Historian's authority may be in other cases, it may be surely depended on in this. As a Bishop, and favourer of the Court, he would have been happy to have given the ruling powers every degree of credit consistent with a regard to truth. "Under the apprehension of Popery, it was thought," says he, "to be some wisdom of prevention, to make an act for taking away the writ *de heretico comburendo*. Thus it was not to exempt others from the possibility of being burnt, but to preclude the risque of being

burnt themselves, that the Administration of these times determined upon the abolition of this sanguinary writ. Their conduct was the effect of fear, not of general and enlarged principles."

Treatise on Heresy and Schism, p. 101.

"Walter Herbert, Esq. Secretary to Prince Rupert, a member of the House of Commons, moved in this or the last Session of Parliament, for an act to repeal the statute *de heretico comburendo*. The House immediately ordered such a bill to be brought in, and wondered that it had not been done before. It passed *nem. con.* and Herbert had the thanks of the House. But it met with opposition from the Bishops in the House of Lords, not one of them voting for it, except the very learned and Reverend Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln."

Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts.

When Earl Stanhope, in 1789, (highly to his honour) moved for a repeal of the numerous ecclesiastical statutes founded on the odious principle of Intolerance and Persecution, he was opposed by many of the Bishops, from the danger of INNOVATION, though the statutes were generally condemned and reprobated. It might be thought expedient to continue them *in terrorem*, as, at some future period, when the Church is in danger, it may be a wise and proper measure to carry them into execution, though not at present. Yet this specious reasoning does not appear perfectly valid, as Lord Stanhope produced above thirty cases, in which the persecuting laws respecting Religion had been enforced within the last *six and twenty years*. "Some of these cases," said his Lordship, "related to Catholics, and others to Protestant Dissenters. How shocking and disgusting it was to read amongst those cases, that poor men's tables, chairs, deal shelves, pewter dishes, bolsters, and beds, had been sold by public auction, in order to pay the penalties

to as simple, and as early **APPENDIX.** the improvements in 27
in arts, and literature, which have illuminated and adorned the modern
penalties for not going to church. Others of these laws had been en-
forced within the last ten years, and some within the last twelve months.
Some of these laws (not generally known) are odious, others ridiculous;
but all founded on the orthodox spirit of persecution."

"As a refinement on cruelty, it is enacted by the 29th of Eliz. c. 6,
sect. a son may forfeit his estate, if settled on him by his father, upon
his (the son's) marriage, or at any other time, in case his father does
not go to church, though he himself the son does. Dr. Burn, in his Eccle-
siastical Law, v. 3, p. 159, says, "That he who misses either morning
or evening prayer, or goes before the whole service is over, is as much
within the statute of the 1st of Eliz. c. 2, sect. 14, as he who is wholly
absent."

Canons of the Church, and Excommunication.

"Canon 5. "Whoever shall affirm that any of the nine and thirty ar-
ticles agreed upon 1562, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or
such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be
excommunicated *ipso facto*; that is to say, let him be *ipso facto* dis-
qualified to be a witness, to act as an executor, to buy or to sell, to
bring an action for the recovery of a debt, or (if he dies) even to have
Christian burial."

"The 72d canon is, that "no Minister shall, without the licence of the
Bishop of the diocese under his hand and seal, attempt, upon any pretence
whatever, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, upon
pain of the imputation of imposture or cosenage, and deposition from
the Ministry."

Parliamentary Register, 1789.

NOTE

NOTE 7, LINE 81.

"Members of Colleges in the Universities, and of other antient foundations, are required to swear to the observance of their respective statutes; which observance is become in some cases unlawful, in others useless, in others inconvenient." *Paley's Philosophy*, p. 215, v. 1.

"It is said, perhaps invidiously, that the oath prescribed to the Student on matriculation, binds him implicitly to obey the statutes, by not keeping dogs, cats, or parrots, or wearing a red waistcoat, which immoralities are daily practised, and too often connived at. But to quiet the tender conscience of the pupil, a decree of the Senate informs him, that though he violates the oath, yet that if he patiently submits to such fine and penalty as may be inflicted on him for a breach of the statute; that in that case, he neither is nor can be deemed guilty of perjury—*any thing to the contrary notwithstanding*." This is the solid and just ground of Mr. Burke's ingenious panegyric. "So tenacious are we of the old ecclesiastical modes and fashions of institution, that very little alteration has been made in them since the fourteenth or fifteenth century; adhering in this particular, as in all things else, to our old settled maxim, never entirely, nor at once to depart from antiquity. And after all, with this *gothic* or *monkish* education, (for such it is in the ground work) we may put in our claim

to

3d July, 1647. "Placet vobis ut in maiorem in posterum cautelam et levamen, hæc verba sint annexa juramenti academice matriculationis, admissionis, creationis."

"Senatus Cantabrigiæ decrevit, et declaravit eos omnes, qui monitionibus, multis, et præcis statutorum, legum, decretorum, ordinationum, injunctionum, et laudabilium consuetudinum hujus academice transgressoribus quovis modo, incumbenibus, humiliter se submisserint, nec esse, nec habendos esse perjurii reos."

to as ample, and as early a share in all the improvements in science, in arts, and literature, which have illuminated and adorned the modern world, as any *any other nation* in Europe." *Reflect.* p. 149.

Why! Because most of the other nations in Europe preserved still more of this gothic and monkish education than we have done; but Mr. Burke's reasoning leads one to suppose, that our improvement in science and literature have arisen from our wisely and scrupulously retaining a considerable part of these venerated and sanctimonious institutions.

NOTE 8, LINE 86.

"Our education is in a manner wholly in the hands of Ecclesiastics, and in all stages, from infancy to manhood. Even when our youth, leaving Schools and Universities, enter that most important period of life, which begins to link experience and study together, and when with that view they visit other countries, three-fourths of those who go abroad with our young Nobility and Gentlemen are Ecclesiastics; not as austere Masters, not as mere followers; but as friends and companions of a great character. With these as relations, they keep up a close connexion through life."

Reflect. p. 148.

NOTE 9, LINE 97.

To depreciate the Rights of the People, the true source of all Government seems to be equally the object of both these Writers. The *ius divinum* of Kings is asserted in express terms by Sir R. Filmer; by implication, the same absurd principle may be deduced from Mr. Burke's book.

NOTE

NOTE 10, LINE 1C4.

Mr. Burke has philosophically proved, that the obscure is one source of the sublime ;

“ Whose own example strengthens all his laws.”

and who can doubt it, after reading the following passage:

“ Persuaded that all things ought to be done with reference, and referring all to the point of reference to which all should be directed, they think themselves bound, not only as individuals, in the sanctuary of the heart, or as congregated in that personal capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and cast ; but also in their corporate character to perform their national homage to the institutor, and author and protector of civil society ; without which civil society man could not by any possibility arrive at the perfection of which his nature is capable, nor even make a remote and faint approach to it. They conceive that he who gave our nature to be perfected by our virtue, willed also the necessary means of its perfection—He willed therefore the State—He willed its connexion with the source and original archetype of all perfection. They who are convinced of this his will, which is the law of laws and the sovereign of sovereigns, cannot think it reprehensible, that this our corporate fealty and homage, that this our recognition of a signiory paramount, I had almost said this oblation of the State itself as a worthy offering on the high altar of universal praise, should be performed as all public solemn acts are performed, in buildings, in music, in decoration, in speech, in the dignity of persons, according to the customs of mankind, taught by their nature ; that is, with modest splendour, with unassuming state, with mild majesty and sober pomp.”

Reflections, p. 146.

Mr.

Mr. B. perhaps only means all this as a beautiful and sublime panegyric on the service of High Mass, where the State is offered up as a propitiatory oblation to the Church.

NOTE II, LINE 110.

This sentiment is borrowed from the pious and enraged Pope Innocent III. when he was threatened by an attack from the Emperor.—“ Glave, Glaive, s'ecrie t'il, lor du fourreau & arguise toi pour tuer.”

Histoire Generale par Millet.

NOTE 12, LINE 116.

In Hume's History of Charles I. there is a curious relation of the mystic language used by Archbishop Laud, in the consecration of a church; Mr. Burke's sentiments perfectly coincide with the Prelate's.

NOTE 13, LINE 125.

“The literary cabal had some years ago formed something like a regular plan for the destruction of the Christian Religion. These atheistical Fathers have a bigotry of their own,” &c. p. 166.

Mr. B. also has been heard frequently to assert, that the literary cabal, Voltaire, d'Alembert, Helvetius, &c. solicited the late King of Prussia to endow Professorships, in all parts of Europe, to read a course of lectures to demonstrate the truth of atheism, and to declare war against any Prince who refused to receive these new apostles into their dominions.

Voltaire's

Voltaire's atheistical, or deistical principles (for in Mr. B's vocabulary, the words are synonymous) are strongly expressed in the following lines:

" *Cette loi souveraine de la Chine au Japon,*

" *Inspira Zoroastre, illumina Platon ;*

" *D'un bout du monde a l'autre, elle parle, elle crie,*

" *Adore un Dieu, sois juste, et chéris la patrie."*

The Author, and Authors of these, and similar sentiments, Mr. B. honours with the epithets of infamous gang, wicked faction, tyrannic impostors, incendiaries, &c. &c. because, says Sir B. Boothby, they are suspected of professing the same religion with Socrates, and Plato, and Cato, and Tully.

Mr. B. indeed, happily unites the extremes of credulity and scepticism. He places an implicit faith in the miraculous story of the Jewish Historian,* Josephus, who asserts, that in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, he saw a devil extracted from an Hebrew of the name of Eleazer, by the judicious application of Solomon's royal and consecrated ring to his nose. Yet Mr. B. disbelieves in all the English and Irish Historians, who have ventured to maintain the truth of a fact, not quite so improbable, considering the spirit of the times.

This species of scepticism, Mr. Hume, (after a philosophical conversation with Mr. B. on this very topic) is said to allude to, in the following note:

* Lib. viii. Antiq. Jud. cap. 2.

Ceterum quod Josephus gloriatur, se presente, " Vespasiano imperatore vidisse quendam de gente Hebraica Eleazarum, naribus cujusdam a dæmone obsessi annulum, ejus signaculo, radix a Salomone reperta erat subdita applicuisse, et dæmonem e naribus odorantis extraxisse."

De Præstigiis Dæmonum, lib. iv, p. 561.

note: "There are, indeed, three events in our history, which may be regarded as the touch-stones of party men. An English Whig, who asserts the reality of the Popish plot; an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre of 1641; and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices."

Hume's History, v. 5, p. 167. N. O.

NOTE 14, LINE 137.

"All monopolies in Trade, all exclusive corporate privileges, are for ever abolished in France. The great public utility of such liberal and judicious measures were first pointed out by Adam Smith, the most philosophic Writer of the age. "Since the establishment of the English East India Company, for example," says he, "the other inhabitants of England, over and above being excluded from the trade, must have paid in the price of the East India goods, which they have consumed, not only for all the extraordinary profits which the Company may have made upon those goods, in consequence of their monopoly, but for all the extraordinary waste, which the fraud and abuse inseparable from the management of the affairs of so great a Company, must necessarily have occasioned."

"To remove a man who has committed no misdemeanour from the Parish where he chuses to reside, is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice. The common people of England, however, so jealous of their liberty, but like the common people of most other countries, never rightly understanding wherein it consists, have now for more than a century together, suffered themselves to be exposed to this oppression without a remedy. Though men of reflection, too, have sometimes complain-

ed of the law of settlements as a public grievance, yet it has never been the object of any general popular clamour, such as that against general warrants, an abusive practice undoubtedly, but such a one as was not likely to occasion any general oppression. There is scarce a poor man in England of forty years of age, I will venture to say, who has not in some part of his life felt himself most cruelly oppressed by this ill contrived law of settlements." *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, v. 2, cap. 10, p. 219.

NOTE 15, LINE 143.

"There is another circumstance of great hardship and oppression, which is becoming daily more grievous, viz. that all sectaries, except Quakers and Jews, are obliged to solemnize their marriages according to the rites of the Established Church. Until the year 1753, their marriages solemnized in their own congregations were valid, and the alteration then made in the law has been productive of very serious hardships. There are now in Nottingham Gaol, some women, who have been confined there several years, and unless the Legislature shall humanely interfere, must be imprisoned *for life*. They are said to be persons of irreproachable character, and have been married according to the ceremonies of their own sect; but as they are neither Quakers nor Jews, their marriages are in the eye of the law invalid, and their children bastards. They have been libelled in the Ecclesiastical Court for incontinency, and are now confined upon a sentence of excommunication, for not submitting to its orders. As an instance of the absurdity of this law, it may be observed that a Protestant Dissenter who is entitled to the public enjoyment of his own mode of worship, cannot be married in his own Church, while that privilege is allowed to Jews, who are not tolerated at all; whose synagogues are illegal conventicles, and who remain in England at the constant risk of persecution, by which their property, liberty, and life, may be forfeited."

High Church Politics, p. 70.

NOTE

NOTE 16, LINE 146.

"The second thing which I have to recommend to your Grace's attention, is the introduction of a bill into Parliament, for appropriating, as they become vacant, one-third or some definite part of the Income of every Deanery, Prebend, or Canonry, of the churches of Westminster, Windsor, Christ Church, Canterbury, Worcester, Durham, Norwich, Ely, Peterborough, Carlisle, &c. to the same purpose, *mutatis mutandis*, as the first fruits and tenths were appropriated by the 5th of Queen Anne. My business, indeed, is not so much with Deans and Chapters, as with a very useful—with what some will not scruple to call the most useful part of the Clergy—the parochial Clergy."

Bishop of Landaff's Letter to the Archb. of Canterb. p. 25 & 26.

With the same spirit of liberality, his Lordship asserts, "That the Church of France, notwithstanding what it has lost, is yet richer, (if I am rightly informed) absolutely and relatively, than the Church of England; its absolute revenue is said to be about six millions sterling; that of the Church of England falls much short of two. In France there are about twenty-four millions of inhabitants to be instructed by their Clergy, in England about eight." *Bishop of Landaff's Charge to his Clergy, p. 9.*

"It is a practice in various parts of the kingdom, for two beneficed Pluralists, whose parishes are not at an inconvenient distance, to join together to procure a person to serve both churches at twenty or twenty five pounds a year each. This is what is called consolidating the curacies. It is no uncommon thing for a dignitary Pluralist, who enjoys several hundreds a year from different preferments, to beat down an indigent Curate, perhaps with a family, to officiate at the lowest stipend possible; and at the same time stipulating with him strictly with respect to the presents received from the munificence and liberality of any of the opulent

opulent parishioners above the stated fees ; even a hat-band and a pair of gloves, upon attending a funeral, must now be reserved, at the peril of being dismissed from the cure. This in general is the case, there may be particular exceptions." *Ecclesiastical Reform, by a Beneficed Clergyman of the University of Cambridge*, p. 46.

NOTE 17, LINE 150.

By the spirit of the laws and principle of the English Constitution, pecuniary mulcts should be proportioned to the circumstances of the persons on whom they are laid ; otherwise a fine of fifty pounds may condemn one man to perpetual imprisonment, and yet in effect be a very trivial punishment to another. This is certainly neither Liberty nor Equality.

NOTE 18, LINE 152.

By a decree of the National Assembly, no person is allowed to commence a civil suit till he has first proved, that he offered the opposite party to have the matter in dispute decided by reference. Perhaps no law was ever so well calculated to prevent litigation.

NOTE 19, LINE 153.

The Decree passed for authorising Divorces.

NOTE 20, LINE 159.

At the commencement of the French Revolution, many hundreds were released from the galleys, who were sent there for destroying game. The peasants were obliged, in many parts of France, to watch the corn during the harvest, in order to preserve it from the innumerable flights of partridges

partridges and pheasants, which covered their fields. Rousseau gives an affecting account of the hardships and misery of these poor people, in one of his letters from Montmorenci.

NOTE 21, LINE 163.

The Noblesse enjoyed the invidious privilege of being exempted from particular taxes ; and King's letters were frequently solicited, and granted, to exempt others. Necker expatiates indignantly on the partiality and injustice of this oppressive system.

NOTE 22, LINE 166.

When that honest and humane Minister was requested to apply to the King for a pension of two or three thousand livres ; and when the smallness of the sum was alledged as a reason for his compliance ; he nobly replied—" It is the Land-tax of a whole village."

NOTE 23, LINE 180.

France abounds in coal mines, but they were mostly in the hands of monopolists, who derive their feudal rights from royal grants ; so that the proprietor of the land could not even raise coals on his own estate.

Vide Rozier's Journal, for Jan. 1791..

NOTE 24, LINE 187..

Who talk of freedom as a royal boon ?—" That the aristocratic and democratic parts of the constitution originate with, and derive all their power from the King."

Appeal from the New, to the Old Whigs..

NOTE

NOTE 25, LINE 170.

Mr. Bryant has displayed new and most ingenious reasoning for the destruction of the Cananites ; which would, *mutatis mutandis*, justify the belligerent powers, on their next invasion of France, and might be exhibited in a second manifesto. "But it will be said, no law involves whole families, nor cuts off *wives* and *children*, though the chief persons and leaders should be ever so guilty. Undoubtedly no human edict should be carried to such an extremity, though there should be strong suspicions of future degeneracy and retaliation.—For man is not gifted with fore knowledge ; nor can he *try the heart and veins* : the lives and fortunes of a whole community must not be determined by conjecture and surmise ; yet people will sometimes be guided by fore cast, and their determinations are often consonant to reason and truth."——Mark the sequel of this profound mythologist's logic, elucidated by that splendor of imagination, for which Mr. Bryant is so eminently distinguished. "For," says he, "a person who plants a number of trees, and finds them degenerate, and become an impediment to others, will pluck them up young and old, and commit them to the flames."

Besides, the King of Prussia claimed in right of the *Franci*, or Franks, who formerly had possession of Gaul, and were the ancient inhabitants of Brandenburg. In an old manuscript found among Frederic the Great's papers at Sans Souci, they had bequeathed the kingdom of France to their posterity, who were ordered to take possession of it at the close of the 17th century.

Mr. Bryant's reasoning in his defence of the Jews, will be very applicable on this point. "For," says he, "in the Eusebian Chronicle of Scaliger, mention

mention is made of Canaan, the Son of Ham, first making an INNOVATION in the world. He transgressed upon the rights of his brethren, and seized upon their land. That it was destined for them, appears by its being uniformly called the *land of Promise*, and it seems to have been for a long time vacant, no nation having the *boldness* to seize it."

Bryant's Treatise upon the Authenticity of the Scripture, 246 and 247.

FINIS.
